

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05  
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SSM-03 AID-05 IO-13 A-01  
OPR-02 SY-05 OC-06 CCO-00 EB-08 COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01  
/094 W

-----161305Z 058359 /43

O P 161203Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 372

INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KABUL PRIORITY

AMCONSUL KARACHI PRIORITY

AMCONSUL LAHORE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI PRIORITY

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 2551

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PK, PINT

SUBJECT: SECOND DAY OF CONFRONTATIONS BRINGS CHANGES

REF: ISLAMABAD 2503

SUMMARY: LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES USED TEAR GAS AND  
LATHI CHARGES TO DEAL WITH THE SECOND DAY OF PEACEFUL  
PNA DEMONSTRATIONS. PNA AND GOP STRATEGIES APPEAR TO HAVE  
REMAINED THE SAME, AS DESCRIBED REFTEL. THE MAIN  
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO DAYS' DEMONSTRATIONS WERE THE  
GRATER SEVERITY OF GOVERNMENT RESPONSE (NOTABLY IN  
LAHORE), THE ABSENCE OF THE MAIN PNA LEADERS, AND ISOLATED  
ACTS OF VIOLENCE DIRECTED TOWARD OFFICIAL BUILDINGS. THE  
EFFECTS OF THE GOP STRATEGY OF ATTEMPTING TO LURE SOME PNA  
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LEADERS INTO TALKS HAS REPORTEDLY LED TO SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS  
OF ALTERNATIVES WITHIN PNA COUNCILS. SO FAR, THERE APPEARS  
NO MOVE TO ACCEPT PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S OFFERS. HOWEVER,  
AN IMPORTANT PNA OFFICIAL RESIGNED YESTERDAY BECAUSE OF  
ALLEGATIONS THAT HE MET THE PM WITHOUT PARTY AUTHORIZATION.  
THE PPP CONTINUES TO SEND SIGNALS TO THE OPPOSITION THAT SOME  
SORT OF ACCOMMODATION IS POSSIBLE: THE LATEST CAME IN

ABDUL HAFEEZ PIRZADA'S PRESS STATEMENT YESTERDAY THAT THE  
CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS EXIST TO RERUN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS.  
END SUMMARY

1. THE SECOND DAY OF PNA NON-VIOLENT ANTI-GOVERNMENT MEETINGS  
AND DEMONSTRATIONS WERE MET WITH LATHI CHARGES AND TEAR GAS  
BY LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES, WITH THE ARMY PRESENT, BUT  
INACTIVE. MARCH 16 PAKISTANI PRESS CARRIES REPORTS PNA  
PROCESSIONS IN RAWALPINDI, PESHAWAR, MULTAN, SARGODHA,  
LYALLPUR, KARACHI, QUETTA, AND VARIOUS OTHER CITIES AND TOWNS.  
THESE REPORTS SAY POLICE RESPONDED TO THE PROCESSIONS WITH  
VARYING INTENSITY, MOST FREQUENTLY WITH LATHI CHARGES AND  
TEAR GAS. IN MANY INSTANCES CROWDS RESPONDED TO POLICE  
MEASURES WITH BRICKBATS. THOUGH THE EXACT NUMBER ARRESTED  
IN YESTERDAY'S PROCEEDINGS IS UNKNOWN, GOP CONTINUES TO  
FOLLOW ITS POLICY OF ARRESTING LOW-AND MIDDLE-LEVEL PNA  
WORKERS IN WHAT IS COMMONLY THOUGHT TO BE AN ATTEMPT TO  
WEAKEN THE MOVEMENT THROUGH ATTRITION.

2. SEVERAL DIFFERENCES DEVELOPED TO CONTRAST THE FIRST AND  
SECOND DAYS' DEMONSTRATIONS. MINOR PARTY LEADERS HEADED  
THE MARCH 15 DEMONSTRATIONS BECAUSE THE MAIN LEADERS WERE  
GATHERED IN LAHORE FOR A PNA GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING. CBS  
CORRESPONDENT PETER COLLINS IN KARACHI PHONED EMBOFF AND  
SAID A CROWD OF 15-20 THOUSAND GATHERED FOR A PROCESSION.  
IN A CHANGE IN TACTICS FROM MARCH 14, POLICE ALLOWED  
DEMONSTRATORS TO PROCEED TO THE JINNAH MAUSOLEUM AND RAISE  
ANTI-GOVERNMENT SLOGANS WITHOUT INTERFERENCE. HOWEVER, WHEN  
THE CROWD THEN TRIED TO MARCH INTO ANOTHER AREA OF THE CITY  
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AND FORMED A MILE-LONG PROCESSION, POLICE RESORTED TO TEAR  
GAS AND LATHI CHARGES. COLLINS TOLD EMBOFF THAT POLICE  
FIRED DIRECTLY INTO THE CROWD, WOUNDING AT LEAST FOUR  
PERSONS. CBS CAMERA CREW FILMED ALL THIS AND COLLINS EXPECTS  
HIS REPORT TO APPEAR ON MARCH 16 CBS MORNING AND EVENING  
NEWS PROGRAMS, AS REPORTED SEPTEL.

MARCH 15 POLICE RESPONSE TO DEMONSTRATORS IN LAHORE  
ALSO CONTRASTED WITH PREVIOUS DAY. THOUGH THE CROWD WAS  
REPORTED BY CONGEN LAHORE TO BE CONSIDERABLY SMALLER THAN  
THE MARCH 14 GATHERING, POLICE USED TEAR GAS AND LATHI  
CHARGES TO DISPERSE CROWD.

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00  
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SSM-03  
AID-05 IO-13 A-01 OPR-02 SY-05 OC-06 CCO-00 EB-08  
COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01 ( ISO ) W  
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O P 161203Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 373  
INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KABUL PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL KARACHI PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL LAHORE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI PRIORITY  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 2551

3. PNA: PNA'S MAIN TACTIC HAS BEEN TO PROTEST RIGGING OF ELECTIONS AND IMPOSITION OF SECTION 144 THROUGH SMALL-SCALE, NON-VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS. THE LONE DEVIATION SO FAR FROM THIS STRATEGY APPEARS TO HAVE OCCURRED AT MULTAN MARCH 15 AS DEMONSTRATORS, ACCORDING TO THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE'S PRESS NOTE, ATTACKED AND RANSACKED A POLICE STATION, BURNING ITS RECORD ROOM. ACCORDING OPPOSITION PRESS SOURCE, DEMONSTRATORS ALSO ATTACKED A POST OFFICE.

4. THE PNA IS REPORTEDLY SUFFERING FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S CARROT AS MUCH AS FROM HIS STICK. BANGLADESH EMBOFF WHO RECENTLY RETURNED FROM LAHORE AND KARACHI INFORMED US THAT PM'S OFFER TO HOLD RERUN OF PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS HAS TOUCHED OFF RESPONSE FROM "MODERATE" PNA LEADERS, WHO ARE APPARENTLY ARGUING IN PARTY COUNCILS THAT THEY SHOULD GO ALONG WITH THE PM ON CONDITION (A) THAT ELECTIONS BE HELD WITHIN ONE MONTH'S TIME, (B) THE ARMY BE THE SOLE SUPERVISOR OF THE POLLS AND  
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BALLOT COUNTING, AND (C) THE ARMY MOVE INTO PLACE TO ADMINISTER THE ELECTIONS WELL IN ADVANCE OF THE POLLING DATE. THE APPARENT AIM WOULD BE TO SECURE PNA PROVINCIAL MAJORITIES IN THE FRONTIER AND PUNJAB, THEREBY DISCREDITING THE PM'S ARGUMENT THAT THERE WAS NO CENTRALLY-DIRECTED RIGGING IN THE NATIONAL ELECTION AND THAT PUNJABIS ARE WITH THE PPP.

HOWEVER, OTHER PNA LEADERS REPORTEDLY CONTINUE TO RESIST ANY DIALOGUE WITH THE PM. SPOKESMAN TOLD REPORTERS AFTER THE MARCH 15 PNA CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING IN LAHORE THAT THE PNA DID NOT DISCUSS THE PM'S LETTER TO MUFTI MAHMOOD.

5. THE PNA SUFFERED A SHOCK TO ITS SOLIDARITY WITH REPORTS OF A MEETING BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO AND PNA SECRETARY-GENERAL CHAUDHURY RAFIQ AHMAD BAJWA. THE MARCH 15 PNA LEADERS' MEETING REQUESTED BAJWA TO SUBMIT HIS RESIGNATION FOR MEETING THE PM WITHOUT THE PNA COUNCIL'S AUTHORIZATION. THIS REPRESENTS BOTH A LOSS TO THE PNA LEADERSHIP AND A BREAK IN A HITHERTO SOLID FRONT. (BAJWA CLAIMS HE DID NOT MEET BHUTTO, THAT THE WHOLE STORY IS A FABRICATION, BUT RATHER THAN EMBARRASS PARTY UNITY, HE PLANS TO GIVE FULL DETAILS OF THE ALLEGED INCIDENT AT AN UNDISCLOSED FUTURE DATE.)

6. PPP: MEANWHILE THE PPP CONTINUES STRATEGY DESCRIBED REFTTEL PARA 7. IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE A FURTHER SIGNAL TO PNA MODERATES AS WELL AS A PROBE OF PNA WILLINGNESS TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE PM, FEDERAL EDUCATION MINISTER PIRZADA TOLD A KARACHI PRESS CONFERENCE MARCH 15 THAT THOUGH THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS CANNOT BE NULLIFIED WITHOUT VIOLATING THE CONSTITUTION, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE, WITH THE USE OF FEDERAL EMERGENCY POWERS, TO SET ASIDE THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS.

7. OTHER SIGNALS AND RUMORS OF FURTHER BHUTTO INDUCEMENTS FLY THICK AND FAST. MARCH 14 URDU DAILY NAWA-I-WAQT CARRIED A REPORT THAT THE ELECTION COMMISSION IS REVIEWING THE RESULTS  
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OF CONTESTS IN 24 NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES WHERE PNA CANDIDATES LOST. MARCH 15 URDU DAILY JANG CARRIED STORY BY REPORTER WHO CLAIMS THAT IN CHEDKING DETAILS OF NAWA-I-WAQT ITEM, HE LEARNED FROM THE CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER AND THE ELECTION COMMISSION GENERAL OFFICE THAT NO SUCH INVESTIGATION IS UNDER WAY. LOCAL EDITOR OF NAWA-I-WAQT AFFIRMED TO US LATER TODAY THAT CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER HIMSELF HAD GIVEN HIM THE TYPEWRITTEN LIST, WHICH INCLUDES SEVEN CONSTITUENCIES "WON" BY FEDERAL MINISTERS.

8. MEDIA COVERAGE: WITH THE EXCEPTION OF PRESS TRUST PUBLICATIONS, MANY PAKISTANI PAPERS ARE GIVING LARGE AMOUNT OF SPACE -- FRONT AND BACK PAGE -- AND PICTORIAL COVERAGE TO OPPOSITION ACTIVITIES, BOTH IN THE STREETS OF THE CITIES AND AT THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL MEETINGS. COVERAGE CONTINUES TO PARALLEL OPENNESS OF CAMPAIGN REPORTING AND HAS NOT REVERTED TO PRE-CAMPAIGN ABSENCE OF OPPOSITION NEWS. HOWEVER, CONGEN KARACHI REPORTS THAT PRESS CLUB SOURCES TOLD THEM THAT

EDITORS HAVE BEEN "SUMMONED" TO ISLAMABAD TO MEET PM  
MORNING OF MARCH 17, AND THAT TWO RECENT EDITORIALS IN DAWN  
AND POSSIBLY JANG CRITICAL OF PNA WERE WRITTEN BY EITHER  
YUSUF BUCH OR PYARALI MOHAMMED RASHIDI, BOTH CLOSE ASSOCIATES  
OF THE PM.

9. THE MAIN PNA LEADERS REMAIN OUT OF JAIL AND MORE PROCESSIONS  
ARE PLANNED FOR MARCH 16.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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